THE ARISTOTELIAN COMMENTATORS: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE

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I. Introduction

In what follows I offer a bibliographical guide to the ancient commentators on Aristotle, outlining where one may find texts, translations, studies, and more detailed bibliographies containing further references.* It is designed to supplement the existing bibliography in: [**1**] R. Sorabji, ed., *Aristotle Transformed: The Ancient Commentators and Their Influence* (London: Duckworth, 1990), 485-524.

The focus here is on the ancient commentators, but reference will also be made to Byzantine commentators. For a list of around 300 commentators on Aristotle – ancient, Byzantine, Islamic, medieval, and renaissance – see the final pages of: [**2**] *Operum Aristotelis Stagiritae Philosophorum Omnium*, ed. I Casaubon (Lugduni, apud Guillelmum Laemarium, 1590). This list is followed by a detailed inventory of individual commentaries arranged by the Aristotelian text upon which they comment. This very useful second list is reprinted in: [**3**] *Aristotelis Opera Omnia quae extant Uno Volumine Comprehensa*, ed. C. H. Weise (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1843), 1013-18. Note also the more recent list of ancient commentaries by R. Goulet in *DPhA* 1,437-41 (1993), now supplemented by M. Chase in *DPhA Suppl.*, 113-21 (2003).

II. Texts and Translations

The standard collection of texts remains [**4**] *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, ed. H. Diels (Berlin: Reimer, 1882-1909), hereafter *CAG*. The project to translate the

* This is a bibliographical guide, not a complete bibliography, and it makes no claim to being comprehensive (it should be supplemented with the bibliographies to the various contributions to this volume and its companion). The aim is to provide a survey of recent work and references to more complete bibliographies where they already exist. There seemed little point in reproducing *in extenso* lists of references already published elsewhere. Throughout, publication information has been kept simple: only one publisher is cited for works published by more than one; usually only one place of publication is given even where the publisher has more than one; the details of series in which books have appeared have been omitted; articles that have appeared in more than one place are often cited in only one location. Unpublished dissertations are not included. Any Greek or Arabic words in the titles of works have been transliterated. While I have physically consulted the vast majority of items listed here, a few items have been beyond my reach and are reported on the authority of others (and in a few of these cases I have been unable to specify publisher or pagination details). Beyond the abbreviations explained *en route*, note also the following: *ANRW* = *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, ed. W. Haase, H. Temporini (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972-); *DPhA* = *Dictionnaire des Philosophes Antiques*, ed. R. Goulet (Paris: CNRS, 1989-).

commentaries into English under the editorship of Richard Sorabji, the *Ancient Commentators on Aristotle*, has to date seen 59 volumes published or sent to press:

[**5**] Alexander of Aphrodisias, *On Aristotle Metaphysics 1*, trans. W. E. Dooley, 1989
[**6**] Alexander of Aphrodisias, *On Aristotle Metaphysics 2-3*, trans. W. E. Dooley & A. Madigan, 1992
[**7**] Alexander of Aphrodisias, *On Aristotle Metaphysics 4*, trans. A. Madigan, 1993
[**8**] Alexander of Aphrodisias, *On Aristotle Metaphysics 5*, trans. W. E. Dooley, 1993
[**9**] Alexander of Aphrodisias, *On Aristotle Prior Analytics 1.1-7*, trans. J. Barnes, S. Bobzien, K. Flannery, & K. Ierodiakonou, 1991
[**10**] Alexander of Aphrodisias, *On Aristotle Prior Analytics 1.8-13*, trans. I. Mueller, 1998
[**11**] Alexander of Aphrodisias, *On Aristotle Prior Analytics 1.14-22*, trans. I. Mueller, 1998
[**12**] Alexander of Aphrodisias, *On Aristotle Topics 1*, trans. J. M. Van Ophuijsen, 2001
[**13**] Alexander of Aphrodisias, *On Aristotle On Sense Perception*, trans. A. Towey, 2000
[**14**] Alexander of Aphrodisias, *On Aristotle Meteorology 4*, trans. E. Lewis, 1996
[**15**] Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Quaestiones 1.1-2.15*, trans. R. W. Sharples, 1992
[**16**] Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Quaestiones 2.16-3.15*, trans. R. W. Sharples, 1994
[**17**] Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Ethical Problems*, trans. R. W. Sharples, 1990
[**18**] Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Supplement to On the Soul*, trans. R. W. Sharples, 2004
[**19**] Ammonius, *On Aristotle Categories*, trans. S. M. Cohen & G. B. Matthews, 1991
[**20**] Ammonius, *On Aristotle On Interpretation 1-8*, trans. D. Blank, 1996
[**21**] Ammonius, *On Aristotle On Interpretation 9*, trans. D. Blank, publ. with Boethius, *On Aristotle On Interpretation 9*, trans. N. Kretzmann, 1998
[**22**] Aspasius, *On Aristotle Nicomachean Ethics 8*, with Michael of Ephesus, *On Aristotle Nicomachean Ethics 9*, and Anonymous, *On Aristotle Nicomachean Ethics 8-9*, trans. D. Konstan, 2001
[**23**] Dexippus, *On Aristotle Categories*, trans. J. Dillon, 1990
[**24**] Philoponus, *On Aristotle On Coming-to-Be and Perishing 1.1-5*, trans. C. J. F. Williams, 1999
[**25**] Philoponus, *On Aristotle On Coming-to-Be and Perishing 1.6-2.4*, trans. C. J. F. Williams, 1999
[**26**] Philoponus, *On Aristotle On the Soul 2.1-6*, trans. W. Charlton, due 2004
[**27**] Philoponus, *On Aristotle On the Soul 3.1-8* (Sp.), trans. W. Charlton, 2000
[**28**] Philoponus, *On Aristotle On the Soul 3.9-13* (Sp.), publ. with Stephanus, *On Aristotle On Interpretation*, trans. W. Charlton, 2000
[**29**] Philoponus, *On Aristotle On the Intellect*, trans. W. Charlton, 1991
[**30**] Philoponus, *On Aristotle Physics 2*, trans. A. R. Lacey, 1993
[**31**] Philoponus, *On Aristotle Physics 3*, trans. M. Edwards, 1994
[**32**] Philoponus, *On Aristotle Physics 5-8*, trans. P. Lettinck, publ. with Simplicius, *On Aristotle on the Void*, trans. J. O. Urmson, 1994
[**33**] Philoponus, *Corollaries on Place and Void*, trans. D. Furley, publ. with Simplicius, *Against Philoponus on the Eternity of the World*, trans. C. Wildberg, 1991
[**34**] Philoponus, *Against Aristotle on the Eternity of the World*, trans. C. Wildberg, 1987
[**35**] Philoponus, *Against Proclus on the Eternity of the World 1-5*, trans. M. Share, due 2004
[**36**] Philoponus, *Against Proclus on the Eternity of the World 6-8*, trans. M. Share, due 2004

[**37**] Porphyry, *On Aristotle Categories*, trans. S. Strange, 1992
[**38**] Porphyry, *On Abstinence from Killing Animals*, trans. G. Clark, 2000
[**39**] Priscian, *On Theophrastus On Sense Perception*, trans. P. Huby, publ. with Simplicius, *On Aristotle On the Soul 2.5-12* (Sp.), trans. C. Steel, 1997
[**40**] Proclus, *On the Existence of Evils*, trans. J. Opsomer & C. Steel, 2003
[**41**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle On the Heavens 1.1-4*, trans. R. J. Hankinson, 2002
[**42**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle On the Heavens 1.5-9*, trans. R. J. Hankinson, 2004
[**43**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle On the Heavens 1.10-12*, trans. R. J. Hankinson, due 2004
[**44**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle On the Heavens 2.1-9*, trans. I. Mueller, due 2004
[**45**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle On the Heavens 2.10-14*, trans. I. Mueller, due 2004
[**46**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle Categories 1-4*, trans. M. Chase, 2003
[**47**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle Categories 5-6*, trans. F. A. J. de Haas & B. Fleet, 2001
[**48**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle Categories 7-8*, trans. B. Fleet, 2002
[**49**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle Categories 9-15*, trans. R. Gaskin, 2000
[**50**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle Physics 2*, trans. B. Fleet, 1997
[**51**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle Physics 3*, trans. J. O. Urmson, 2002
[**52**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle Physics 4.1-5 & 4.10-14*, trans. J. O. Urmson, 1992
[**53**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle Physics 5*, trans. J. O. Urmson, 1997
[**54**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle Physics 6*, trans. D. Konstan, 1989
[**55**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle Physics 7*, trans. C. Hagen, 1994
[**56**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle Physics 8.6-10*, trans. R. McKirahan, 2001
[**57**] Simplicius, *Corollaries on Time and Place*, trans. J. O. Urmson, 1992
[**58**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle On the Soul 1.1-2.4*, trans. J. O. Urmson, 1995
[**59**] Simplicius, *On Aristotle On the Soul 3.1-5* (Sp.), trans. H. J. Blumenthal, 2000
[**60**] Simplicius, *On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, trans. C. Brittain & T. Brennan, 2002
[**61**] Simplicius, *On Epictetus Handbook 27-53*, trans. T. Brennan & C. Brittain, 2002
[**62**] Themistius, *On Aristotle On the Soul*, trans. R. B. Todd, 1996
[**63**] Themistius, *On Aristotle Physics 4*, trans. R. B. Todd, 2003

Further volumes have also been commissioned for this series, all of which is published by Duckworth and Cornell University Press. The handful of translations made before this series are listed in the Introduction to [34], 15-17; some other earlier translations will be noted in due course. The selections from the commentators translated by Thomas Taylor in the nineteenth century are currently being reissued in: [**64**] *The Works of Aristotle*, 6 vols to date (Frome: The Prometheus Trust, 2000-) as part of the publisher's 'Thomas Taylor Series'. A substantial collection of texts drawn from the *Ancient Commentators on Aristotle* series and elsewhere may now be found in: [**65-67**] R. Sorabji, *The Philosophy of the Commentators, 200-600 AD: A Sourcebook in Three Volumes* (London: Duckworth, due 2004); vol. 1 Psychology, vol. 2 Physics, vol. 3 Logic and Metaphysics.

Alongside the *CAG* there also exist the *CLCAG* and the *CAGL*, both collections of Latin translations of commentaries: [**68**] *Corpus Latinum Commentariorum in Aristotelem Graecorum*, ed. G. Verbeke (Leiden: Brill / Leuven: Leuven University Press) and [**69**] *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca: Versiones Latinae Temporis Resuscitatarum Litterarum*, ed. C. Lohr (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1990-). Individual volumes in these series will be noted in the appropriate sections below, but two multi-author volumes may be noted here: [**70**] *The Greek Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle, in the Latin Translation of Robert Grosseteste*, ed. H. P. F. Mercken, *CLCAG* 6.1 (1973), 6.3 (1991) and [**71**] *Commentators and Commentaries on Aristotle's Sophistici Elenchi: A Study of Post-Aristotelian Ancient and Medieval Writings on Fallacies*, ed. S. Ebbesen, 3 vols, *CLCAG* 7.1-3 (1981).

III. General Studies

For a general introduction to the ancient commentary tradition a good place to start is Silvia Fazzo's 'Aristotelianism as a Commentary Tradition' in the present volume. For a bibliography of general studies on the commentators up to 1990 see [1] 485-524. This impressive collection of references remains an essential point of reference. It may now be supplemented with the following general works:

[**72**] K. Bärthelein, 'Zur Kategorienforschung in der Antike', in D. Kock, K. Bort, eds, *Kategorie und Kategorialität* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1990), 13-48

[**73**] H. J. Blumenthal, *Aristotle and Neoplatonism in Late Antiquity: Interpretations of the De Anima* (London: Duckworth, 1996)

[**74**] H. J. Blumenthal, 'Iamblichus as a Commentator', *Syllecta Classica* 8 (1997), 1-13

[**75**] H. Blumenthal, H. Robinson, eds, *Aristotle and the Later Tradition*, *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* suppl. vol. (1991)

[**76**] C. Burnett, ed., *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1993)

[**77**] C. Dalimier, 'Les enjeux de la reformulation syllogistique chez les commentateurs grecs du *De Caelo* d'Aristote', in [93] 377-86

[**78**] C. D'Ancona Costa, 'Commenting on Aristotle: From Late Antiquity to the Arab Aristotelianism', in W. Geerlings, C. Schulze, eds, *Der Kommentar in Antike und Mittelalter* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 201-51

[**79**] J. M. Dillon, 'Iamblichus' *Noera Theôria* of Aristotle's *Categories*', *Syllecta Classica* 8 (1997), 65-77

[**80**] M. Fattal, 'La composition des concepts dans le *De Anima* (III, 6) d'Aristote. Commentaires grecs et arabes', *Revue des Études Grecques* 108 (1995), 371-87

[**81**] R. Gaskin, *The Sea Battle and the Master Argument: Aristotle and Diodorus Cronus on the Metaphysics of the Future* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995)

[**82**] A. V. Garrett, 'The Ancient Commentators on Aristotle', *Graduate Faculty Philosophy Journal* 17 (1994), 377-91

[**83**] R. J. Hankinson, 'Xenarchus, Alexander, and Simplicius on Simple Motions, Bodies and Magnitudes', *BICS* 46 (2002-03), 19-42

[**84**] H. Kubbinga, 'Le concept d'*elakhiston* chez Aristote et ses principaux commentateurs grecs', in J. M. M. H. Thijssen, H. A. G. Braakhuis, eds, *The Commentary Tradition on Aristotle's De Generatione et Corruptione* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 47-67

[**85**] C. Luna, *Trois études sur la tradition des commentaires anciens à la Métaphysique d'Aristote* (Leiden: Brill, 2001)

[**86**] G. B. Matthews, 'Container Metaphysics According to Aristotle's Greek Commentators', in R. Bosley, M. Tweedale, eds, *Aristotle and his Medieval Interpreters = Canadian Journal of Philosophy* Suppl. Vol. 17 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1991), 7-23

[**87**] L. P. Schrenk, ed., *Aristotle in Late Antiquity* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1994)

[**88**] A. Sheppard, '*Phantasia* and Mental Images: Neoplatonist interpretations of *De Anima* 3.3' in [75] 165-73

To these one can add a number of recent studies devoted to the philosophical commentary as a genre, its origins, and its form:

[**89**] J. Barnes, 'Metacommentary', *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 10 (1992), 267-81
[**90**] J. Dillon, 'A Case-Study in Commentary: The Neoplatonic Exegesis of the *Prooimia* of Plato's Dialogues', in [98] 206-22
[**91**] T. Dorandi, 'Le commentaire dans la tradition papyrologique: quelques cas controversés', in [93] 15-27
[**92**] R. K. Gibson, C. S. Kraus, eds, *The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory* (Leiden: Brill, 2002)
[**93**] M.-O. Goulet-Cazé, ed., *Le commentaire: entre tradition et innovation* (Paris: Vrin, 2000)
[**94**] I. Hadot, 'The Role of the Commentaries on Aristotle in the Teaching of Philosophy according to the Prefaces of the Neoplatonic Commentaries on the *Categories*', in [75] 175-89
[**95**] I. Hadot, 'Le commentaire philosophique continu dans l'Antiquité', *Antiquité Tardive* 5 (1997), 169-76
[**96**] P. Hadot, 'Philosophie, exégèse et contresens', in his *Études de philosophie ancienne* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1998), 3-11
[**97**] J. Mansfeld, *Prolegomena: Questions to be Settled Before the Study of an Author, or a Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1994)
[**98**] G. W. Most, ed., *Commentaries - Kommentare* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999)
[**99**] D. Sedley, 'Plato's Auctoritas and the Rebirth of the Commentary Tradition', in J. Barnes, M. Griffin, eds, *Philosophia Togata II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 110-29
[**100**] H. G. Snyder, *Teachers and Texts in the Ancient World* (London: Routledge, 2000)

Recently the debate surrounding the fate of the last Neoplatonists after the closure of the philosophical schools in Athens by Justinian in AD 529 has attracted much speculation. The principal recent contributions are:

[**101**] P. Athanassiadi, 'Persecution and Response in Late Paganism: The Evidence of Damascius', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 113 (1993), 1-29
[**102**] H. J. Blumenthal, '529 and its Sequel: What Happened to the Academy?', *Byzantium* 48 (1978), 369-385; repr. in his *Soul and Intellect: Studies in Plotinus and Later Neoplatonism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993)
[**103**] A. Cameron, 'The Last Days of the Academy at Athens', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 195 (1969), 7-29
[**104**] P. Foulkes, 'Where was Simplicius?', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 112 (1992), 143
[**105**] A. Frantz, 'Pagan Philosophers in Christian Athens', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 119 (1975), 29-38
[**106**] D. Gutas, 'The 'Alexandria to Bagdad' Complex of Narratives: A contribution to the study of philosophical and medical historiography among the Arabs', *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 10 (1999), 155-93
[**107**] I. Hadot, 'The Life and Work of Simplicius in Greek and Arabic Sources', in [1], 275-303
[**108**] G. Hällström, 'The Closing of the Neoplatonic School in AD 529: An Additional Aspect', in P. Castrén, ed., *Post-Herulian Athens* (Helsinki: Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens, 1994), 141-60
[**109**] J. Lameer, 'From Alexandria to Baghdad: Reflections on the Genesis of a Problematical Tradition', in G. Endress, R. Kruk, eds, *The Ancient Tradition in Christian and Islamic Hellenism* (Leiden: CNWS, 1997), 181-91

[**110**] C. Luna, 'Review of [114]', *Mnemosyne* 54 (2001), 482-504
[**111**] M. Tardieu, 'Sabiens coraniques et 'Sabiens' de Harran', *Journal asiatique* 274 (1986), 1-44
[**112**] M. Tardieu, 'Les calendriers en usage à Harran d'après les sources arabes et le commentaire de Simplicius à la Physique d'Aristote', in I. Hadot, ed., *Simplicius* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 40-57
[**113**] M. Tardieu, *Les paysages reliques: Routes et haltes syriennes d'Isidore à Simplicius* (Louvain: Peeters, 1990)
[**114**] R. Thiel, *Simplikios und das Ende der neuplatonischen Schule in Athen* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1999)
[**115**] S. Van Riet, 'A propos de la biographie de Simplicius', *Revue Philosophique de Louvain* 89 (1991), 506-14

IV. Individual Commentators: Alexander to Themistius

The following sections on individual commentators do not pretend to offer a full publishing history for their works. In particular little mention will be made of editions predating the *CAG*. However, full details of earlier editions may be found in: [**116**] J. W. Moss, *A Manual of Classical Bibliography*, 2 vols (London: Bohn, 1837), 1,151-75. More often than not, the first printed editions of the commentaries were – like the works of Aristotle himself – published by Aldus Manutius and his successors. Full details of the Aldine editions may be found in: [**117**] A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde*, 3rd edn (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1834; also in a number of later facsimile reprints). For further discussion of Aldus and the commentators see the Appendix below.

The commentaries of **Alexander of Aphrodisias** (*in Metaph.*, *in An. Pr.*, *in Top.*, *in Sens.*, *in Meteor.*) may be found in *CAG* vols 1-3. His other, non-commentary, works (*DA*, *Mant.*, *Quaest.*, *Fat.*, *Mixt.*) may be found in the *CAG* supplement, vol. 2. Note also the Latin edition of *in Meteor.* in *CLCAG* 4. There also exists [**118**] a more recent Budé edition of *Fat.* by P. Thillet (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984); a new edition of *Mant.* is currently being prepared for the same series by R. W. Sharples. A fuller list of Alexander's works, including lost and spurious texts, may be found in [124] below, 1182-99; see also the entry by R. Goulet and M. Aouad in *DPhA* 1,125-39, along with S. Fazzo in *DPhA Suppl.*, 61-70.

For translations of Alexander's commentaries see [5-14]. For his non-commentary works see [15-18] plus:

[**119**] *Alexander of Aphrodisias On Destiny*, trans. A. FitzGerald (London: The Scholartis Press, 1931)
[**120**] *Alexander of Aphrodisias on Stoic Physics: A Study of the De Mixtione with Preliminary Essays, Text, Translation, and Commentary*, trans. R. B. Todd (Leiden: Brill, 1976)
[**121**] *The De Anima of Alexander of Aphrodisias*, trans. A. P. Fotinis (Washington: University Press of America, 1979)
[**122**] *Alexander of Aphrodisias On Fate*, trans. R. W. Sharples (London: Duckworth, 1983)
[**123**] *Two Greek Aristotelian Commentators on the Intellect: The De Intellectu Attributed to Alexander of Aphrodisias and Themistius' Paraphrase of Aristotle De Anima 3.4-8*, trans. F. M. Schroeder, R. B. Todd (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990)

Note also [376] below for a text preserved only in the Arabic tradition (and see also Fazzo 1999b in Fazzo's contribution to this volume). For studies of Alexander, a good first port of call is: [**124**] R. W. Sharples, 'Alexander of Aphrodisias: Scholasticism and Innovation', *ANRW* II 36.2 (1987), 1176-1243. A recent very important publication dealing with Alexander is: [**125**] P. Moraux, *Der Aristotelismus bei den Griechen: III. Alexander von Aphrodisias* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001). This contains a recently compiled and extremely comprehensive bibliography on Alexander by R. W. Sharples, pp. 621-50, that makes any attempt to collect together references here superfluous. Note, however, the following not recorded in [125] (and see also *DPhA Suppl*. 61-70):

[**126**] S. Fazzo, 'Alexandre d'Aphrodise contre Galien: la naissance d'une légende', *Philosophie Antique: Problèmes, Renaissances, Usages* 2 (2002), 109-44

[**127**] S. Fazzo, *Aporia e sistema: La materia, la forma, il divino nelle Quaestiones di Alessandro di Afrodisia* (Pisa: Edizioni Ets, 2002)

[**128**] K. L. Flannery, 'Alexander of Aphrodisias and Others on a Controversial Demonstration in Aristotle's Modal Syllogistic', *History and Philosophy of Logic* 14 (1993), 201-14

[**129**] K. L. Flannery, 'Mathematical Entities in Alexander and Pseudo-Alexander of Aphrodisias', in V. Celluprica, ed., *Il Libro B della Metafisica di Aristotele* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 2003), 127-57

[**130**] I. Kupreeva, 'Qualities and Bodies: Alexander Against the Stoics', *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 25 (2003), 297-344

[**131**] I. Kupreeva, 'Alexander of Aphrodisias on Mixture and Growth', *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 27 (2004), 297-334

[**132**] M. Mignucci, 'Alexander of Aphrodisias on Inference and Syllogism', in I. Angelelli, A. d'Ors, eds, *Estudios de Historia de la Logica, Actas del II Simposio de Historia de la Logica* (Pamplona: Ediciones Eunate, 1990), 381-412

[**133**] G. Movia, ed., *Alessandro di Afrodisia e la "Metafisica" di Aristotele* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2003)

[**134**] R. W. Sharples, 'Alexander of Aphrodisias and the End of Aristotelian Theology', in T. Kobusch, M. Erler eds, *Metaphysik und Religion: Zur Signatur des spätantiken Denkens* (Munich: Saur, 2002), 1-21

[**135**] R. W. Sharples, 'Alexander of Aphrodisias on the Nature and Location of Vision', in R. Salles, ed., *Metaphysics, Soul, and Ethics: Themes from the Work of Richard Sorabji* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2004)

[**136**] R. W. Sharples, 'An Aristotelian Commentator on the Naturalness of Justice', in C. Gill, ed., *Norms, Virtue, and Objectivity: Issues in Ancient and Modern Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2005)

[**137**] J. Talanga, 'Gucetics Auseinandersetzung mit Alexander von Aphrodisias', *Prilozi za Istrazivanje Hrvatske Filozofske Bastine* 35-36 (1992), 75-91

The commentaries of **Ammonius** (*in Porph. Isag*., *in Cat*., *in Int*., *in An. Pr*.) are all in *CAG* vol. 4. Ammonius' *in Int*. is also preserved in a Latin edition, in *CLCAG* 2. Note also Asclepius' *in Metaph*. (*CAG* vol. 6.2), which is reported to be based upon the lectures of Ammonius. It may be possible to obtain further material about Ammonius from the dialogue entitled *Ammonius* by Zacharias (*PG* 85,1011-1144).

For translations of *in Cat*. and *in Int*. see [19-21]. For studies beyond those in [1] 489-90 see:

[**138**] J. Barnes, 'Ammonius and Adverbs', in [75] 145-63

[**139**] F. Ildefonse, J. Lallot, 'Ammonius, Commentaire du Peri hermeneias: Préambule et chapitres I à V', *Archives et Documents de la SHESL* 7 (1992), 1-91
[**140**] M. Mignucci, 'Ammonius on Future Contingent Propositions', in M. Frede, G. Striker, eds, *Rationality in Greek Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 279-310
[**141**] M. Mignucci, 'Ammonius' Sea Battle', in [21] 53-86
[**142**] L. Obertello, 'Proclus, Ammonius and Boethius on Divine Knowledge', *Dionysius* 5 (1981), 127-64
[**143**] D. O'Brien, 'Plotinus and the Secrets of Ammonius', *Hermathena* 157 (1994), 117-53
[**144**] Y. Pelletier, *Les Attributions (Catégories): Le texte aristotélicien et les prolégomènes d'Ammonios d'Hermeias* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1983)
[**145**] M. Rapava, 'Traditions et innovations dans l'école néo-platonicienne d'Alexandrie (Ammonius Hermias et David l'Invincible)', *Bedi Kartlisa* 40 (1982), 216-27
[**146**] J. M. Rist, 'Pseudo-Ammonius and the Soul/Body Problem in some Platonic Texts of Late Antiquity', *American Journal of Philology* 109 (1988), 402-15
[**147**] G. Seel, ed., *Ammonius and the Seabattle: Texts, Commentary, Essays* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001)
[**148**] R. Sorabji, 'The Three Deterministic Arguments Opposed by Ammonius', in [21] 3-15
[**149**] R. Sorabji, 'Divine Names and Sordid Deals in Ammonius' Alexandria', in A. Smith ed., *Neoplatonism and Society* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004 forthcoming)
[**150**] E. Tempelis, *The School of Ammonius, Son of Hermias, on Knowledge of the Divine* (Athens: Parnassos Literary Society, 1998)
[**151**] C. Wildberg, 'Three Neoplatonic Introductions to Philosophy: Ammonius, David and Elias', *Hermathena* 149 (1990), 33-51

As has just been mentioned, the *in Metaph*. by **Asclepius** (in *CAG* vol. 6.2) is reported to follow the lectures of Ammonius. Thus to whom its contents should be attributed is unclear. Asclepius also produced a commentary on Nicomachus which may be found in: [**152**] L. Tarán, *Asclepius of Tralles, Commentary to Nicomachus' Introduction to Arithmetic = Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 59.4 (1969). There are few studies of Asclepius, but see:

[**153**] A. Madigan, 'Syrianus and Asclepius on Forms and Intermediates in Plato and Aristotle', *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 24 (1986), 149-71
[**154**] L. G. Westerink, 'Deux commentaires sur Nicomaque: Asclépius et Jean Philopon', *Revue des Études Grecques* 77 (1964), 526-35

Aspasius is credited with being the author of the earliest extant commentary on Aristotle, *in EN*, which may be found in *CAG* vol. 19.1. There is a partial Latin version in *CLCAG* 6.3 [= 68]. Part has also been translated into English in [22], and a complete translation has been commissioned for the *Ancient Commentators on Aristotle* series.

The most important recent work on Aspasius may be found in: [**155**] A. Alberti, R. W. Sharples, eds, *Aspasius: The Earliest Extant Commentary on Aristotle's Ethics* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999). This volume also includes a bibliography by G. Tausch-Pebody and J. Barnes, 191-94, that records everything of note prior to 1999. But note the following items not included:

[**156**] W. W. Fortenbaugh, 'A Note on Aspasius, *in EN* 44,20-1', in [**157**] *Proceedings of the World Congress on Aristotle I* (Athens: Publication of the Ministry of Culture and Sciences, 1981), 175-78

[**158**] A. Kenny, 'Aspasius and the *Nicomachean Ethics* of Aristotle', in [157] 172-74

One could not do better than start with this volume, and in particular: [**159**] J. Barnes, 'An Introduction to Aspasius', in [155] 1-50. Also worthy of note is: [**160**] F. Becchi, 'Aspasio, commentatore di Aristotele', *ANRW* II 36.7 (1994), 5365-96.

The commentaries and related logical works by **Boethius** (including *in Cat.*, *in Int.*[1], *in Int.*[2]) are gathered together in *PL* 64. His translations of Aristotle into Latin, along with a number of glosses, may be found in: [**161**] *Aristoteles Latinus*, ed. L. Minio-Paluello (Leiden: Brill etc, 1961-). More recent editions exist for some of his logical works, including:

[**162**] *Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii Commentarii in Librum Aristotelis Peri Hermeneias*, ed. C. Meiser, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1877-80)

[**163**] *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii in Isagogen Porphyrii Commenta*, ed. S. Brandt, *CSEL* 48 (Vindobonae: Tempsky, 1906)

[**164**] *A. M. Severino Boezio De hypotheticis syllogismis*, ed. L. Obertello (Brescia: Paideia, 1969)

[**165**] *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii De Divisione Liber*, ed. & trans. J. Magee (Leiden: Brill, 1998)

For a fuller list of Boethius' works see *DPhA* 2,117-22. Parts of *in Int.*[1] and *in Int.*[2] are translated into English in [21]. Also note (along with [165] above):

[**166**] *The Second Edition of the Commentaries on the Isagoge of Porphyry* [*in Isag.* 1.1-12], in R. McKeon, ed., *Selections from Medieval Philosophers 1: Augustine to Albert the Great* (New York: Scriber's, 1929), 70-99

[**167**] *De Topicis Differentiis*, trans. E. Stump (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978)

[**168**] *In Ciceronis Topica*, trans. E. Stump (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988)

[**169**] *Second Commentary on Porphyry's Isagoge* [*in Isag.* 1.10-11], in P. V. Spade, *Five Texts on the Mediaeval Problem of Universals* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1994), 20-25

[**170**] *On Division*, in N. Kretzmann, E. Stump, eds, *The Cambridge Translations of Medieval Philosophical Texts 1: Logic and the Philosophy of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 11-38, and repr. in A. B. Schoedinger, ed., *Readings in Medieval Philosophy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 647-62

For an up to date general bibliography on Boethius see the following recent study: [**171**] J. Marenbon, *Boethius* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 219-35. Other general studies of Boethius worthy of note include:

[**172**] H. Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981)

[**173**] M. Gibson, ed., *Boethius: His Life, Thought, and Influence* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981)

For an introduction to Boethius as an Aristotelian commentator, see [**174**] J. Shiel, 'Boethius' Commentaries on Aristotle', in [1] 349-72, and [**175**] S. Ebbesen, 'Boethius as

an Aristotelian Scholar', in [1] 373-91. Note also the following studies, primarily concerned with Boethius' engagement with logic, beyond those in [1] 491-93:

[**176**] M. A. Correia, 'Boethius on Syllogisms with Negative Premises', *Ancient Philosophy* 21 (2001), 161-74
[**177**] J. J. E. Gracia, 'Boethius and the Problem of Individuation in the *Commentaries on the Isagoge*', in L. Obertello, ed., *Atti del congresso internazionale di studi boeziani* (Rome: Herder, 1981), 169-82
[**178**] N. Kretzmann, 'Boethius and the Truth about Tomorrow's Sea Battle', in [21] 24-52
[**179**] J. Magee, 'The Text of Boethius's *De divisione*', *Vivarium* 32 (1994), 1-50
[**180**] J. Magee, 'Boethius, *De divisione* 875-76, 891-92, and Andronicus Rhodius', in J. Brown, W. P. Stoneman, eds, *A Distinct Voice* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 525-60
[**181**] C. J. Martin, 'The Logic of Negation in Boethius', *Phronesis* 36 (1991), 277-304
[**182**] C. J. Martin, 'Non-reductive Arguments from Impossible Hypotheses in Boethius and Philoponus', *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 17 (1999), 279-302
[**183**] R. Sorabji, 'Boethius, Ammonius, and their Different Greek Backgrounds', in [21] 16-23
[**184**] G. Striker, 'Zur Frage nach den Quellen von Boethius' *de hypotheticis syllogismis*', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 55 (1973), 70-75

David produced a *Prolegomena* and a commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, both in *CAG* vol. 18.2. The commentary on the *Categories* attribted to Elias has also been attributed to David. A number of works also survive in Armenian, and David is known in the Armenian tradition as 'David the Invincible'. For references to David's works in Armenian see *DPhA* 2,614-15, and [**185**] A. K. Sanjian, ed., *David Anhaght': The 'Invincible' Philosopher* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 119-23. For translations into English see:

[**186**] *Definitions and Divisions of Philosophy by David the Invincible Philosopher*, English Translation of the Old Armenian Version with Introduction and Notes, trans. B. Kendall, R. W. Thomson (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983) – includes the Armenian text and a facing translation
[**187**] *An Encomium of the Holy Cross of God*, in [185] 81-100

For studies see the various papers in [185], especially [**188**] A. K. Sanjian, 'David Anhaght' (the Invincible): An Introduction', 1-16. Beyond the studies noted in [1] 493-94, see (along with [145] and [151] above):

[**189**] S. S. Arevsatyan, 'L'héritage de David l'Invincible sous une lumière nouvelle', *Banber Matenadarani* 9 (1969), 7-22
[**190**] G. A. Brutjan *et al.*, eds, *David the Invincible, The Great Philosopher of Ancient Armenia* (Erevan: Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences, 1983)
[**191**] J.-P. Mahé, 'David l'Invincible dans la tradition arménienne', in I. Hadot, ed. *Simplicius, Commentaire sur les Catégories*, Fasc. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 189-207
[**192**] E. Thorossian, 'David the Invincible as an Interpreter of Aristotle's *Categories*', in [190]

For references to further secondary literature – much of which is in Armenian or Russian – see [185] 124-46.

The commentator **Dexippus** produced only one commentary, on the *Categories*, which may be found in *CAG* vol. 4.2. This is translated in [23]. A handful of items of secondary literature are listed in [1] 494.

Elias produced commentaries on Porphyry's *Isagoge* and on the *Categories*, both in *CAG* vol. 18.1. A commentary on the *Prior Analytics* may be found in [**193**] L. G. Westerink, 'Elias on the Prior Analytics', *Mnemosyne* ser. 4, 14 (1961), 126-39. The [**194**] *Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy*, ed. & trans. L. G. Westerink (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1962), attributed to Olympiodorus has also been credited to Elias. See also [**195**] *Pseudo-Elias (Pseudo-David), Lectures on Porphyry's Isagoge*, ed. L. G. Westerink (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1967). For discussion of the attribution of these texts see *DPhA* 3,57-66. For studies see those listed in [1] 494-95; to these add [151] above.

The commentaries by **Olympiodorus** cover works by both Plato and Aristotle. His Aristotelian commentaries (*Proleg*., *in Cat*., *in Meteor*.) are in *CAG* vol. 12. Anonymous scholia on *Int*. have also been credited to him; see [**196**] L. Tarán, *Anonymous Commentary on Aristotle's De Interpretatione* (Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1978). For his Platonic commentaries see:

[**197**] *Olympiodori Philosophi in Platonis Phaedonem Commentaria*, ed. W. Norvin (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913)
[**198**] *Olympiodori in Platonis Gorgiam Commentaria*, ed. L. G. Westerink (Leipzig: Teubner, 1970); and in English in [**199**] *Olympiodorus, Commentary on Plato's Gorgias*, trans. R. Jackson, K. Lycos, H. Tarrant (Leiden: Brill, 1998)
[**200**] *The Greek Commentaries on Plato's Phaedo 1: Olympiodorus*, ed. & trans. L. G. Westerink (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1976)
[**201**] *Olympiodorus, Commentary on the First Alcibiades*, ed. L.G. Westerink (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1956)

Some older studies are referred to in [1] 496-97. See also:

[**202**] C. A. Behr, 'Citations of Porphyry's *Against Aristides* Preserved in Olympiodorus', *American Journal of Philology* 89 (1968), 186-99
[**203**] R. Jackson, 'Late Platonist Poetics: Olympiodorus and the Myth of Plato's *Gorgias*', in J. G. J. Abbenes, S. R. Slings, I. Sluiter, eds, *Greek Literary Theory After Aristotle* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1995), 275-99
[**204**] F. W. Lenz, 'The Quotations from Aelius Aristides in Olympiodorus' Commentary on Plato's *Gorgias*', *American Journal of Philology* 67 (1946), 103-28
[**205**] K. Lycos, 'Olympiodorus on Pleasure and the Good in Plato's *Gorgias*', *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 12 (1994), 183-205
[**206**] H. Tarrant, 'Restoring Olympiodorus' Syllogistic', *Ancient Philosophy* 17 (1997), 411-24
[**207**] H. Tarrant, '*Politikê Eudaimonia*: Olympiodorus on Plato's Republic', in K. Boudouris, ed., *Plato's Political Philosophy* (Athens: International Association for Greek Philosophy and Culture, 1997), 2,200-07
[**208**] H. Tarrant, 'Olympiodorus and History', in A. Nobbs *et al.*, eds, *Ancient History in a Modern University* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 2,417-25
[**209**] H. Tarrant, 'Olympiodorus and the Surrender of Paganism', in L. Garland, ed., *Conformity and Non-conformity in Byzantium = Byzantinische Forschungen* 24 (1997), 181-92
[**210**] L. G. Westerink, 'Quotations from Attic Comedy in Olympiodorus', *Mnemosyne* 19 (1966), 175-76

The Aristotelian commentaries of **John Philoponus** (*in Cat.*, *in An. Pr.*, *in An. Post.*, *in Meteor.*, *in GC*, *in DA*, *in Phys.*) may be found in *CAG* vols 13-17. A Latin version of *in DA* may be found in *CLCAG* vol. 3. For full details of Philoponus' various other works see: [**211**] R. Sorabji, ed., *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science* (London: Duckworth, 1987), 231-35. Of these, note in particular:

[**212**] *De Aeternitate Mundi contra Proclum*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig: Teubner, 1899)
[**213**] *De Opificio Mundi*, ed. W. Reichardt (Leipzig: Teubner, 1897)
[**214**] *Nichomachi Geraseni Pythagorei Introductionis Arithmeticae Libri II*, ed. R. Hoche (Leipzig: Teubner, 1866) – and now also [**215**] *Giovanni Filopono Matematico tra Neopitagorismo e Neoplatonismo: Commenterio alla Introduzione Aritmetica di Nicomaco di Gerasa*, ed. G. R. Giardina (Catania: CUECM, 1999)
[**216**] *Iohannis Philoponi De Vocabulis quae Diversum Significatum Exhibent Secundum Differentiam Accentus*, ed. L. W. Daly (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1983)

For translations into English see [24-36] above. For a general introduction to Philoponus see [**217**] R. Sorabji, 'John Philoponus', in [211] 1-40, along with the other papers in [211]. Bibliographies of work on Philoponus may be found in [1] 497-99 and [211] 236-45. Beyond the items listed there, see also:

[**218**] S. Alexandru, 'A New Manuscript of Pseudo-Philoponus' *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics* Containing a Hitherto Unknown Ascription of the Work', *Phronesis* 44 (1999), 347-52
[**219**] N. Aujoulat, 'le *pneuma* et le *corps lumineux* de l'âme d'après le *Prologue* du Commentaire sur le *De Anima*, de Jean Philopon', *Byzantinoslavica* 59 (1998), 1-23
[**220**] A. Bäck, 'Philoponus On The Fallacy Of Accident', *Ancient Philosophy* 7 (1987), 131-146
[**221**] S. Berryman, 'John Philoponus and the Irreducibility of Supervenient Qualities', in C. Leijenhorst, C. Lüthy, eds, *The Dynamics of Natural Philosophy in the Aristotelian Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2002)
[**222**] S. Berryman, 'Necessitation and Explanation in Philoponus' Aristotelian Physics', in R. Salles, ed., *Metaphysics, Soul, and Ethics: Themes from the Work of Richard Sorabji* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2004)
[**223**] S. Feldman, 'Philoponus on the Metaphysics of Creation', in R. Link-Salinger *et al.*, eds, *A Straight Path: Studies in Medieval Philosophy and Culture* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1988), 74-85
[**224**] L. Fladerer, *Johannes Philoponus, De opificio mundi: Spätantikes Sprachdenken und christliche Exegese* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1999)
[**225**] J. C. de Groot, *Aristotle and Philoponus on Light* (New York: Garland Press, 1991)
[**226**] J. C. de Groot, 'Philoponus on Separating the Three-Dimensional' in D. O. Dahlstrom, ed., *Optics in Nature and Scientific Method* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1991)
[**227**] F. A. J. de Haas, *John Philoponus' New Definition of Prime Matter: Aspects of its Background in Neoplatonism and the Ancient Commentary Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997)
[**228**] F. A. J. de Haas, 'Mixture in Philoponus: An Encounter with a Third Kind of Potentiality', in J. M. M. H. Thijssen, H. A. G. Braakhuis, eds, *The Commentary*

Tradition on Aristotle's De Generatione et Corruptione (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 21-46

[**229**] F. A. J. de Haas, 'Recollection and Potentiality in Philoponus', in M. Kardaun, J. Spruyt, eds, *The Winged Chariot* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 165-84

[**230**] H. S. Lang, 'Philoponus' Aristotle: The Extension of Place', in R. W. Sharples, ed., *Whose Aristotle? Whose Aristotelianism?* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 11-27

[**231**] U. M. Lang, *John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon in the Sixth Century: A Study and Translation of the Arbiter* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001)

[**232**] P. Lautner, 'Philoponus, *In De Anima III*: Quest for an Author', *Classical Quarterly* 42 (1992), 510-22

[**233**] P. Lautner, 'Philoponean Accounts of Phantasia', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 34 (1993), 159-70

[**234**] L. S. B. MacCoull, L. Siorvanes, '*PSI* XIV 1400: A Papyrus Fragment of John Philoponus', *Ancient Philosophy* 12 (1992), 153-70

[**235**] E. M. Macierowski, R. F. Hassing, 'John Philoponus on Aristotle's Definition of Nature', *Ancient Philosophy* 8 (1988), 73-100

[**236**] D. Morrison, 'Philoponus and Simplicius on Tekmeriodic Proof', in D. A. Di Liscia, E. Kessler, C. Methuen, eds, *Method and Order in Renaissance Philosophy of Nature: The Aristotle Commentary Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 1-22

[**237**] C. Osborne, 'Philoponus on the Origins of the Universe and other Issues', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 20 (1989), 389-95

[**238**] C. Scholten, *Antike Naturphilosophie und christliche Kosmologie in der Schrift 'de Opificio Mundi' des Johannes Philoponus* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996)

[**239**] L. Schrenk, 'John Philoponus on the Immortal Soul', *Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association* 64 (1990), 151-60

[**240**] K. Verrycken, 'Philoponus' Interpretation of Plato's Cosmogony', *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 8 (1997), 269-318

[**241**] C. Wildberg, *John Philoponus' Criticism of Aristotle's Theory of Aether* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988)

The surviving commentary works by **Porphyry** – the *Isagoge* and *in Cat*. – are in *CAG* vol. 4.1. The surviving remains of his commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* are in: [**242**] *Porphyrii in Platonis Timaeum Commentariorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. R. Sodano (Naples, 1964). The remains of Porphyry's other commentaries on Plato and Aristotle are gathered together in: [**243**] A. Smith, *Porphyrii Philosophi Fragmenta* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1993). However, many of these lost works are known only via a handful of *testimonia*. The works with the most substantial remains are a longer commentary on the *Categories* (mainly from Simplicius *in Cat*.; see [243] 35-59), *in Phys*. (mainly from Simplicius *in Phys*.; see [243] 120-59), and *in Int*. (from Boetheus *in Int*.[2] and Ammonius *in Int*.; see [243] 59-112). For a guide to Porphyry's other works not mentioned here see: [**244**] J. Barnes, *Porphyry, Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), 367-71.

Porphyry's *in Cat*. is translated in [37]. His *Isagoge* has recently been translated with commentary in [244] above; note also:

[**245**] *The Introduction of Porphyry*, in *The Organon, or Logical Treatises, of Aristotle, with the Introduction of Porphyry*, trans. O. F. Owen, 2 vols (London: Bohn, 1853), 2,609-33

[**246**] *Isagoge*, trans. E. W. Warren (Toronto: The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1975)

[**247**] *Isagoge*, in P. V. Spade, *Five Texts on the Mediaeval Problem of Universals* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1994), 1-19

For an impressive bibliography of work on Porphyry see: [**248**] G. Girgenti, *Porfirio negli ultimi cinquant'anni* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1994), plus [1] 499-500 and [244] 372-84. There is also a useful survey in: [**249**] A. Smith, 'Porphyrian Studies since 1913', *ANRW* II 36.2 (1987), 717-73. Note in particular the following recent items dealing with Porphyry's engagement with Aristotle (not in [1] 499-500):

[**250**] R. Chiaradonna, 'L'interpretazione della sostanza aristotelica in Porfirio', *Elenchos* 17 (1996), 55-94

[**251**] R. Chiaradonna, 'Essence et prédication chez Porphyre et Plotin', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 82 (1998), 577-606

[**252**] O. Goldin, 'Porphyry, Nature and Community', *History of Philosophy Quarterly* 18 (2001), 353-71

[**253**] F. A. J. de Haas, 'Did Plotinus and Porphyry Disagree on Aristotle's *Categories*?', *Phronesis* 46 (2001), 492-526

[**254**] P. Hadot, 'Porphyre et Victorinus: questions et hypothèses', *Res orientales* 9 (1996), 117-25

[**255**] M. Heath, 'Porphyry's Rhetoric', *Classical Quarterly* 53 (2003), 141-66

[**256**] A. de Libera, 'Entre Aristote et Plotin: l'*Isagoge* de Porphyre et le problème des catégories', in C. Chiesa, L. Freuler, eds, *Métaphysiques médiévales* (Geneva, 1999), 7-27

[**257**] A. de Libera, A.-P. Segonds, *Porphyre, Isagoge: Texte grec, Translatio Boethii* (Paris: Vrin, 1998) – with a substantial Introduction by de Libera

[**258**] S. K. Strange, 'Plotinus, Porphyry, and the Neoplatonic Interpretation of the *Categories*', *ANRW* II 36.2 (1987), 955-74

Priscian is recorded as the author of a commentary on Theophrastus and series of responses to questions by the Persian king Chosroes, both in *CAG* suppl. vol. 1.2. He has also been put forward as the author of *in DA* traditionally attributed to Simplicius (in *CAG* vol. 11), most famously in: [**259**] F. Bossier, C. Steel, 'Priscianus Lydus en de *in De Anima* van Pseudo(?)-Simplicius', *Tijdschrift voor filosofie* 34 (1972), 761-822; re-presented in English by Steel in [39] 105-40. His commentary on Theophrastus is translated in [39]. For studies of Priscian see:

[**260**] P. M. Huby, 'Priscian of Lydia as Evidence for Iamblichus', in H. J. Blumenthal, E. G. Clark, eds, *The Divine Iamblichus* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1993), 5-13

[**261**] C. G. Steel, *The Changing Self, A Study on the Soul in Later Neoplatonism: Iamblichus, Damascius, and Priscianus* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1978)

See also [268] below which discuss further the authorship of Simplicius *in DA* and its attribution to Priscian.

The commentaries on Aristotle by **Simplicius** (*in Cael.*, *in Cat.*, *in Phys.*, *in DA*) may be found in *CAG* vols 7-11. There is a Latin version of *in Cat.* in *CLCAG* 5. His commentary on Epictetus is edited in: [**262**] I. Hadot, *Simplicius, Commentaire sur le Manuel d'Épictète* (Leiden: Brill, 1996). Note also [**263**] Hadot's 'editio minor' of the same in the Budé series (2001-). For translations of the commentaries on both Aristotle and Epictetus see [41-61] plus [32, 33, 39]. For an earlier translation of the latter see: [**264**] G. Stanhope, *Epictetus his Morals, with Simplicius his Comment* (London, 1697).

A number of items primarily dealing with Simplicius' biography have already been listed above [104, 107, 112-115]. An important collection of papers on Simplicius is:

[**265**] I. Hadot, ed., *Simplicius, sa vie, son oeuvre, sa survie* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987). For further studies see the following along with those listed in [1] 500-02:

[**266**] H. J. Blumenthal, 'Soul Vehicles in Simplicius' in S. Gersh, C. Kannengiesser, eds, *Platonism in Late Antiquity* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 173-88

[**267**] H. J. Blumenthal, 'Dunamis in Simplicius', in F. Romano, R. Loredana Cardullo, eds, *Dunamis nel Neoplatonismo* (Florence, 1996)

[**268**] H. J. Blumenthal, 'Some Notes on the Text of Pseudo-Simplicius' Commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima*, III.1-5', in M. Joyal, ed., *Studies in Plato and the Platonic Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 213-28

[2**69**] K. Bormann, 'The Interpretation of Parmenides by the Neoplatonist Simplicius', *Monist* 62 (1979), 30-42

[**270**] A. C. Bowen, 'Simplicius' Commentary on Aristotle, *De Caelo* 2.10-12: An Annotated Translation, Part I', *SCIAMVS: Sources and Commentaries in Exact Sciences* 4 (2003), 23-58

[**271**] A. C. Bowen, 'Simplicius' Commentary on Aristotle, *De Caelo* 2.10-12: An Annotated Translation, Part II', *SCIAMVS: Sources and Commentaries in Exact Sciences* 5 (2004), forthcoming

[**272**] G. Cortassa, 'Uno stoico di età giustinianea: Simplicio interprete di Epitteto', in F. Conca, ed., *Byzantina Mediolanensia* (Messina: Rubbettino, 1996), 107-16

[**273**] I. Croese, *Simplicius on Continuous and Instantaneous Change: Neoplatonic Elements in Simplicius' Interpretation of Aristotelian Physics* (Utrecht, 1998)

[**274**] K. L. Flannery, 'The Synonymy of Homonyms', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 81 (1999), 268-89

[**275**] R. Gaskin, 'Simplicius on the Meaning of Sentences: A Commentary on *In Cat*. 396,30-397,28', *Phronesis* 43 (1998), 42-62

[**276**] I. Hadot, 'Die Widerlegung des Manichäismus im Epiktetkommentar des Simplikios', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 51 (1969), 31-57

[**277**] I. Hadot, 'La tradition manuscrite du commentaire de Simplicius sur le *Manuel* d'Épictète', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 8 (1978), 1-108; with addenda et corrigenda in *Revue d'histoire des textes* 11 (1981), 387-95

[**278**] I. Hadot, ed. *Simplicius, Commentaire sur les Catégories*, Fasc. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1990), and [**279**] Fasc. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1990)

[**280**] I. Hadot, 'Le *Commentaire* de Simplicius *sur le Manuel d'Épictète* comme Exercice Spirituel', in [**281**] C. Moreschini, ed., *Esegesi, Parafrasi e Compilazione in Età Tardoantica*, (Naples: M. D'Auria Editore, 1995), 175-85

[**282**] J. J. Hall, ''Planets' in Simplicius *de caelo* 471.1 ff.', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 91 (1971), 138-39

[**283**] J. L. Heiberg, 'Handschriftliches zum Commentar des Simplicius zu Aristoteles de caelo', *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1892), 59-66

[**284**] P. Hoffmann, 'Les categories aristotéliciennes *pote* et *pou* d'après le commentaire de Simplicius: Méthode d'exégèse et aspects doctrinaux', in [93] 355-76

[**285**] C. Luna, ed. *Simplicius, Commentaire sur les Catégories: Chapitres 2-4* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2001)

[**286**] P. Merlan, 'Ein Simplikios-Zitat bei ps.-Alexandros und ein Plotinus-Zitat bei Simplikios', *Rheinisches Museum* 89 (1935), 154-60

[**287**] I. Mueller, 'Aristotle and Simplicius on Mathematical Infinity', in [157] 179-82

[**288**] J. M. Narbonne, 'Definition et Description: Le probleme de la saisie des genres premiers et des individus chez Aristote dans l'exegese de Simplicius', *Archives de Philosophie* 50 (1987), 529-54

[**289**] K. Praechter, 'Simpl. in Aristote. de Caelo p. 370,29 ff. H.', *Hermes* 59 (1924), 118-19

[**290**] R. Thiel, 'Stoische Ethik und neuplatonische Tugendlehre. Zur Verortung der stoischen Ethik im neuplatonischen System in Simplikios' Kommentar zu Epiktets *Enchiridion*', in T. Fuhrer, M. Erler, eds, *Zur Rezeption der hellenistischen Philosophie in der Spätantike* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1999), 93-103

[**291**] C. Wildberg, 'Impetus Theory and the Hermeneutics of Science in Simplicius and Philoponus', *Hyperboreus* 5 (1999), 107-24

Stephanus is credited with a commentary on *Int*. (in *CAG* vol. 18.3) and on *Rhet*. (in *CAG* vol. 21.2). He has also been put forward as the author of *in DA 3* attributed to Philoponus. For translations into English of *in Int*. and *in DA 3* see [27-28]. For studies see those listed in [1] 502-03 plus:

[**292**] W. Wolska-Conus, 'Stéphanos d'Athènes et Stéphanos d'Alexandrie. Essai d'identification et de biographie', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 47 (1989), 5-89

Syrianus produced a commentary on *Metaph*., in *CAG* 6.1. Note also: [**293**] *Syriani in Hermogenem Commentaria*, ed. H. Rabe, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1892-93). Extracts of the former were translated into English by Thomas Taylor and are reprinted in vol. 5 of [64]. For studies of Syrianus see those listed in [1] 503 plus:

[**294**] R. L. Cardullo, 'Syrianus défenseur de Platon contre Aristote selon le témoignage d'Asclepius', in M. Dixsaut, ed., *Contre Platon 1* (Paris: Vrin, 1993), 197-214

[**295**] R. L. Cardullo, *Siriano, Esegeta di Aristotele I: Frammenti e Testimonianze dei Commentari all' Organon* (Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1995), and [**296**] *II: Frammenti e Testimonianze del Commentario alla Fisica* (Catania: CUECM, 2000)

[**297**] R. L. Cardullo, '"Come le frecce dei Traci …". Siriano contro Aristotele a proposito di due aporie di *Metafisica* B sul soprasensibile', in V. Celluprica, ed., *Il Libro B della Metafisica di Aristotele* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 2003), 159-225

[**298**] C. D'Ancona, 'Syrianus dans la tradition exégétique de la *Métaphysique* d'Aristote, II: Antécédents et postérité', in [93] 311-27

[**299**] P. Lautner, 'Different Types of *logoi* in Empirical Knowledge and Noetic Understanding in Syrianus', in R. Baine Harris, J. Bregman, eds, *Neoplatonism and American Philosophy* (Albany: SUNY, forthcoming)

[**300**] A. Longo, 'Le sostanze intermedie e le dimostrazioni astronomiche nel prologo del commento di Siriano sui libri M e N della *Metafisica* di Aristotele', *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 12 (2001), 85-124

[**301**] C. Luna, 'Syrianus dans la tradition exégétique de la *Métaphysique* d'Aristote, I: Syrianus entre Alexandre d'Aphrodise et Asclépius', in [93] 301-09

[**302**] I. Mueller, 'Syrianus and the Concept of Mathematical Number', in G. Bechtle, D. J. O'Meara, eds, *La philosophie des mathématiques de l'Antiquité tardive* (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 1998), 71-83

[**303**] L. Tarán, 'Syrianus and Pseudo-Alexander's commentary on Metaph. E-N', in J. Wiesner, ed., *Aristoteles: Werk und Wirkung II* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 215-232

The paraphrase commentaries of **Themistius** (*in An. Post.*, *in Phys.*, *in DA*, *in Cael.*, *in Metaph.*, *in Parv.*) may all be found in *CAG* vol. 5. Of these, *in Cael.* and *in Metaph.* survive in Hebrew and Latin versions only. There also exists a Latin version of *in DA*, which may be found in *CLCAG* 1. Note also the *in An. Pr.* in *CAG* vol. 23.3. It may also be useful to note a pre-*CAG* collected edition: [**304**] *Themistii Paraphrases Aristotelis Librorum Quae Supersunt*, ed. L. Spengel, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1866). For translations into English see [62-63] plus [123].

Themistius is, of course, also famous as the author of a number of orations: [**305** *Themistii Orationes*, ed. H. Schenkl, G. Downey, A. F. Norman, 3 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1965-74). Selections of these are translated in: [**306**] R. J. Penella, *The Private Orations of Themistius* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) and [**307**] P. Heather, D. Moncur, *Politics, Philosophy, and Empire in the Fourth Century: Select Orations of Themistius* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001).

For studies of Themistius see the following along with those listed in [1] 503-04:

[**308**] O. Ballériaux, 'Themistius et l'exégèse de la noétique aristotélicienne', *Revue de philosophie ancienne* 7 (1989), 199-233
[**309**] O. Ballériaux, 'Thémistius et le Néoplatonisme: Le *nous pathêtikos* et l'immortalité de l'âme', *Revue de la philosophie ancienne* 12 (1994), 171-200
[**310**] H. J. Blumenthal, 'Themistius: The Last Peripatetic Commentator on Aristotle?', in [1] 113-23
[**311**] R. Brague, *Thémistius, Paraphrase de la Métaphysique d'Aristote (Livre Lambda)* (Paris: Vrin, 1999)
[**312**] P. V. Cacciatore, 'La parafrasi di Temistio al secondo libro degli *Analitici Posteriori* di Aristotele', in [281] 389-95
[**313**] M. C. Ciollaro, 'Osservazioni sulla *Parafrasi* di Temistio al *De Anima* Aristotelico', in [281] 79-92
[**314**] G. Guldentops, 'Tyche ontgoddelijkt: Themistius over het toeval en het lot', *Tijdschrift voor Filosofie* 61 (1999), 311-36
[**315**] G. Guldentops, 'Themistius on Evil', *Phronesis* 46 (2001), 189-208
[**316**] D. Henry, 'Themistius and Spontaneous Generation in Aristotle's *Metaphysics*', *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 24 (2003), 183-207
[**317**] S. B. Martin, 'The Nature of the Human Intellect as it is Expounded in 'Themistius Paraphrasis in Libros Aristotelis de Anima'', *Boston College Studies in Philosophy* 1 (1966), 1-21
[**318**] R. B. Todd, 'An inventory of the Greek manuscripts of Themistius' Aristotelian commentaries', *Byzantion* 67 (1997), 268-76
[**319**] R. B. Todd, 'Themistius', *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum* 8 (2003), 57-102
[**320**] J. Vanderspoel, 'The 'Themistius Collection' of Commentaries on Plato and Aristotle', *Phoenix* 43 (1989), 162-64

Beyond the various commentaries that have been mentioned so far, there also exist a number of **anonymous** or unattributed commentaries and collections of scholia. Among these, note the following:

[**321**] *Scholia in Aristotelem*, ed. C. A. Brandis (Berlin: Reimer, 1836; new edn, de Gruyter, 1961) = vol. 4 of I. Bekker's *Aristotelis Opera*
[**322**] *Scholia Graeca in Aristotelis Metaphysica*, ed. C. A. Brandis (Berlin: Reimer, 1837)
[**323**] *Anonymi in Aristotelis Categorias Paraphrasis*, ed. M. Hayduck, *CAG* 23.2 (1883)

[**324**] *Anonymi in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos Paraphrasis*, ed. M. Hayduck, *CAG* 23.4 (1884)
[**325**] *Pseudo-Archytas Über die Kategorien*, ed. T. A. Szlezák (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972)
[**326**] P. Moraux, 'Ein unedierter Kurzkommentar zu Porphyrios' Isagoge', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 35 (1979), 55-98 & 41 (1981), 59-61
[**327**] A. Bülow-Jacobsen, S. Ebbesen, 'Vaticanus Urbinas Graecus 35: An Edition of the Scholia on Aristotle's Sophistici Elenchi', *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 43 (1982), 45-120

The anonymous scholia on the *Nicomachean Ethics* in their medieval Latin translation are in *CLCAG* 6.1 (see [70] above). The anonymous paraphrase of *EN* attributed to Heliodorus in *CAG* (vol. 19.2) was for some time attributed to Andronicus of Rhodes, while Olympiodorus is also named as its author in one MS. Bridgman suggested that it might be by the 15th century Andronnicus Callistus (see [328] below), while more recently Benakis [332] has suggested the 14th century Constantinos Palaeokappas. However, earlier editions of the text (1607, 1617, 1679, 1809) were all under the name of Andronicus (see *CAG* vol. 19.2, p. vii). The entire commentary has been translated in:

[**328**] *The Paraphrase of an Anonymous Greek Writer (Hitherto Published Under the Name of Andronicus Rhodius) on the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle*, trans. W. Bridgman (London: C. Whittingham, 1807)
[**329**] *The Moral Philosophy of Aristotle, Consisting of a Translation of the Nicomachean Ethics, and of the Paraphrase Attributed to Andronicus of Rhodes*, trans. W. M. Hatch (London: John Murray, 1879)

More recently, an extract has been translated in [22].

V. The Later Commentary Tradition: Byzantine, Arabic, Syriac, Latin

Those wishing to familiarise themselves with the **Byzantine** commentary tradition will find much of use in three publications by Benakis:

[**330**] L. G. Benakis, 'Grundbibliographie zum Aristoteles-Studium in Byzanz', in J. Wiesner, ed., *Aristoteles: Werk und Wirkung II* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 352-79
[**331**] L. G. Benakis, 'Commentaries and Commentators on the Logical Works of Aristotle in Byzantium', in R. Claussen, R. Daube-Schackat, eds, *Gedankenzeichen: Festschrift für Klaus Oehler* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1988), 3-12
[**332**] L. G. Benakis, 'Commentaries and Commentators on the Works of Aristotle (except the Logical ones) in Byzantium', in B. Mojsisch, O. Pluta, eds, *Historia Philosophiae Medii Aevi: Studien zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters I* (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1991), 45-54

Broader in scope, but no less useful, are:

[**333**] K. Ierodiakonou, ed., *Byzantine Philosophy and its Ancient Sources* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002)
[**334**] B. N. Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine* (Paris: PUF, 1949); recently rendered into English as [**335**] *Byzantine Philosophy*, trans. N. J. Moutafakis (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2003), with two substantial new bibliographies, 266-417

[**336**] N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London: Duckworth, 1983; 2nd edn 1996)

Many Byzantine commentaries on Aristotle remain unedited or only available in Renaissance editions. Commentaries by **Eustratius** include *in An. Post.* (in *CAG* vol. 21.1) and *in EN* (in *CAG* vol. 20; see also *CLCAG* vols 6.1, 6.3).

Works by **Michael of Ephesus** include *in Parv.* (in *CAG* vol. 22.1), *in EN* (in *CAG* vol. 22.3; see also *CAG* vol. 20; part in English in [22]), and a number of commentaries on Aristotle's biological works in *CAG* vol. 22.2. Some of the latter are translated into English in: [**337**] *Aristotle and Michael of Ephesus on the Movement and Progression of Animals*, trans. A. Preuss (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1981). A number of other commentaries with disputed authorship have been attributed to Michael; see e.g. *CAG* vols 1,440-837 (*in Metaph.* 6-14), 2.3 (*in SE*), 14.3 (*in GA*). Scholia on Aristotle's *Pol.* that have been attributed to Michael of Ephesus are printed as [**338**] 'Scholia et Glossae' in *Aristotelis Politica*, ed. O. Immisch (Leipzig: Teubner, 1909), and translated into English in [**339**] E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 136-41.

The first volume in a new projected series 'Commentaria in Aristotelem Byzantina' is: [**340**] *Arethas of Caesarea's Scholia on Porphyry's Isagoge and Aristotle's Categories*, ed. M. Share (Athens: The Academy of Athens, 1994). For further details of editions of Byzantine commentaries see [330-332] above.

The following is merely a selection of work on the Byzantine commentary tradition and should be supplemented with those listed in [1] 519-20:

[**341**] L. G. Benakis, 'Michael Psellos' Kritik an Aristoteles und seine eigene Lehre zur 'Physis'- und 'Materie-Form'-Problematik', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 56 (1963), 213-27

[**342**] V. Cilento, 'Sul Commentario aristotelico di Psello', *Rivista di Filologia e Istruzione Classica* 92 (1964), 377-80

[**343**] K. Giocarinis, 'Eustratius of Nicaea's Defence of the Doctrine of Ideas', *Franciscan Studies* 24 (1964), 159-204

[**344**] K. Giokarinis, 'An Unpublished Late 13th Century Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle', *Traditio* 15 (1959), 299-326

[**345**] G. de Gregorio, P. Eleuteri, 'Per un catalogo dei manoscritti greci dei Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina', in F. Berger *et al.*, eds, *Symbolae Berolinenses für Dieter Harlfinger* (Amsterdam, 1993), 117-67

[**346**] K. Ierodiakonou, 'Psellos' Paraphrasis on Aristotle's *De interpretatione*', in [333] 157-81

[**347**] G. L. Kustas, 'The Commentators on Aristotle's *Categories* and on Porphyry's *Isagoge*', in *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric* (Thessaloniki, 1973), 101-26

[**348**] A. C. Lloyd, 'The Aristotelianism of Eustratios of Nicaea', in J. Wiesner, ed., *Aristoteles: Werk und Wirkung II* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 341-51

[**349**] D. M. Nicol, 'A Paraphrase of the *Nicomachean Ethics* Attributed to the Emperor John VI Cantacuzene', *Byzantinoslavica* 29 (1968), 1-16

[**350**] B. N. Tatakis, 'Aristote critique par Théodoros Métochitès', in *Melanges O. et M. Merlier II* (Athens, 1956), 439-45

[**351**] M.-C. Vitali, 'Théodore Métochite et sa Paraphrasis in libros De anima Aristotelis', in *Actes du VIIe Congrès internationale de philosophie médiévale* (Louvain, 1986), 1,273-78

Further references may be found in the substantial bibliography in [335] 266-417.

The following references dealing with the **Arabic** commentary tradition focus upon the reception and influence of the ancient commentators in the Arabic philosophical tradition rather than the Arabic commentary tradition itself. But for information about the most substantial body of Arabic commentaries – those of Averroes (Ibn Rushd) – see: [**352**] H. A. Wolfson, 'Revised Plan for the Publication of a *Corpus Commentarium Averrois in Aristotelem*', *Speculum* 38 (1963), 88-104; and for full details of modern editions and translations see: [**353**] G. Endress, 'Averrois Opera: A Bibliography of Editions and Contributions to the Text', in [**354**] G. Endress, J. A. Aertsen, eds, *Averroes and the Aristotelian Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 339-81.

For general studies of the Graeco-Arabic translation movement see: [**355**] A. Badawi, *La transmission de la Philosophie grecque au monde arabe* (Paris: Vrin, 1968; 2nd edn 1987), which includes translations from Arabic into French of texts by Alexander and Themistius unknown in the Greek tradition (for some reservations see [397] below), and [**356**] D. Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbâsid Society* (London: Routledge, 1998). Particularly relevant to the transmission of the Aristotelian commentators is: [**357**] F. E. Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus* (Leiden: Brill, 1968). Note also [**358**] *The Fihrist of al-Nadim: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, trans. B. Dodge, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 2,571-633, which details the Greek philosophical texts (including those of the commentators) known in the Islamic world.

The majority of the following references deal with the reception of the ancient commentators and supplement those in [1] 517-19:

[**359**] A. Abel, 'La légende de Jean Philopon chez les Arabes', *Correspondance d'Orient* 10 (1963-64), 251-80

[**360**] R. Arnzen, *Aristoteles de Anima, eine verlorene spaetantike Paraphrase in arabischer und persischer Ueberlieferung* (Leiden: Brill, 1998)

[**361**] A. Badawi, 'New Philosophical Texts Lost in Greek and Preserved in Arabic Translations', in: P. Morewedge, ed., *Islamic Philosophical Theology* (Albany: SUNY, 1979), 3-13

[**362**] A. Dietrich, *Die arabische Version einer unbekannten Schrift des Alexander von Aphrodisias über die Differentia specifica* (Göttingen: NAWG, 1964)

[**363**] T.-A. Druart, 'Averroes: The Commentator and the Commentators', in [87] 184-202

[**364**] G. Endress, 'Alexander Arabus on the First Cause: Aristotle's First Mover in an Arabic Treatise attributed to Alexander of Aphrodisias', in [**365**] C. D'Ancona, G. Serra, eds, *Aristotele e Alessandro di Afrodisia nella tradizione araba* (Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2002), 19-74

[**366**] J. van Ess, 'Über einige neue Fragmente des Alexander von Aphrodisias und des Proklos in arabischer Übersetzung', *Der Islam* 42 (1966) 148-68

[**367**] C. Evangeliou, 'The Aristotelianism of Averroes and the Problem of Porphyry's *Isagoge*', *Philosophia* 15-16 (1985-86), 318-31

[**368**] S. Fazzo, H. Wiesner, 'Alexander of Aphrodisias in the Kindi-circle and in al-Kindi's cosmology', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 3 (1993) 119-53

[**369**] S. Fazzo, 'Frammenti da Alessandro di Afrodisia In De generatione e corruptione nel Kitâb al-Tasrîf: problemi di riconoscimento e di ricostruzione', *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 10 (1999) 195-203

[**370**] S. Fazzo, 'Alessandro di Afrodisia sulle 'contrarietà tangibili' (*De Gen. corr*. II 2): fonti greche e arabe a confronto', in [365] 151-89

[**371**] J. Finnegan, 'Texte arabe du Peri Nou d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph, Beirut* 33 (1956) 157-202

[**372**] J. Freudenthal, 'Die durch Averroes erhaltenen Fragmente Alexanders zur Metaphysik des Aristoteles untersucht und übersetzt', *Abhandlungen der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (1884), 1-134
[**373**] H. Gätje, 'Die arabische Übersetzung der Schrift des Alexander von Aphrodisias über die Farbe', *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 10 (1968), 341-82
[**374**] E. Gannagé, 'Alexandre d'Aphrodise In De generatione et corruptione apud Gabir b. Hayyan, K. al-Tasrîf', *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 9 (1998), 35-86
[**375**] E. Gannagé, 'Matière et éléments dans le commentaire d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise *In De Generatione et corruptione*', in [365] 133-49
[**376**] C. Genequand, *Alexander of Aphrodisias On the Cosmos* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); includes an edition of the Arabic text and an English translation of Alexander's *De Principiis*
[**377**] M. Geoffroy, 'La tradition arabe du *Peri nou* d'Alexandrre d'Aphrodise et les origines de la théorie farabienne des quatre degrés de l'intellect', in [365] 191-231
[**378**] E. Giannakis, 'Fragments from Alexander's Lost Commentary on Aristotle's Physics', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch Islamischen Wissenchaften* 10 (1996), 157-87
[**379**] E. Giannakis, 'Yahya Ibn 'Adî Against John Philoponus on Place and Void', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch Islamischen Wissenschaften* 12 (1998), 245-302
[**380**] D. Gutas, 'Philoponus and Avicenna on the Separability of the Intellect: A Case of Orthodox Christian-Muslim agreement', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 1-2 (1986), 121-29
[**381**] D. Gutas, 'Aspects of Literary Form and Genre in Arabic Logical Works', in [76] 29-76
[**382**] D. Gutas, 'Averroes on Theophrastus, Through Themistius', in [354] 125-44
[**383**] K. Gyekye, *Arabic Logic: Ibn al-Tayyib's Commentary on Porphyry's Eisagoge* (Albany: SUNY, 1979)
[**384**] A. Hasnawi, 'Alexandre d'Aphrodise vs Jean Philopon: notes sur quelques traités d'Alexandre "perdus" en grec, conservés en arabe', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 4 (1994), 53-109
[**385**] A. Hyman, 'Averroes' Theory of the Intellect and the Ancient Commentators', in [354] 188-98
[**386**] J. Jolivet, 'Le commentaire philosophique arabe', in [93] 397-410
[**387**] P. Lettinck, *Aristotle's Physics and its Reception in the Arabic World* (Leiden: Brill, 1994)
[**388**] M. C. Lyons, *An Arabic Translation of Themistius' Commentary on Aristotle's De Anima* (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1973)
[**389**] S. Pines, 'An Arabic summary of a lost work of John Philoponus', *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972), 320-52
[**390**] H.-J. Ruland, 'Die arabische Übersetzung der Schrift des Alexander von Aphrodisias über die Sinneswahrnehmung', *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1978), 159-225
[**391**] H.-J. Ruland, 'Zwei arabische Fassungen der Abhandlung des Alexander von Aphrodisias über die universalia', *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1979), 243-76

[**392**] H.-J. Ruland, 'Die arabische Übersetzung der Schrift des Alexander von Aphrodisias über das Wachstum', *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1981), 51-74
[**393**] Y. Shayegan, 'The Transmission of Greek Philosophy to the Islamic World', in S. H. Nasr, O. Leaman, eds, *History of Islamic Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 1996), 89-104
[**394**] P. Thillet, 'Un traité inconnu d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise sur la Providence dans une version arabe inédite', in *L'homme et son destin d'après les penseurs du moyen âge, Actes du premier congrès international de philosophie médiévale* (Louvain, 1960), 313-24
[**395**] F. W. Zimmermann, 'Al-Farabi und die philosophische Kritik an Galen von Alexander zu Averroes', *Akten des 7. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft, Göttingen = Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 3 (1976), 401-14
[**396**] F. W. Zimmermann, 'Topics and the misnamed Book of Poetic Gleanings attributed to Aristotle and Alexander of Aphrodisias in a medieval Arabic manuscript', in W. W. Fortenbaugh, D. C. Mirhady, eds, *Peripatetic Rhetoric after Aristotle* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 314-19
[**397**] F. W. Zimmermann, H. V. B. Brown, 'Neue arabische Uebersetzungstexte aus dem Bereich der spaetantiken griechischen Philosophie', *Der Islam* 50 (1973), 313-24

No doubt further references can be found in: [**398**] H. Daiber, *Bibliography of Islamic Philosophy*, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

At this point it might also be appropriate to note a handful of items dealing with the **Syriac** tradition:

[**399**] A. Baumstark, *Aristoteles bei den Syrern vom V-VIII Jahrhundert: Syrisch-Arabische Biographieen des Aristoteles, Syrische Commentare zur Eisagôgê des Porphyrios* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1900)
[**400**] S. Brock, 'Some Notes on the Syriac Translations of Porphyry's Eisagoge', in *Mélanges en hommage au professeur et au penseur libanais Farid Jabre* (Beirut, 1989), 41-50
[**401**] S. Brock, 'The Syriac Commentary Tradition', in [76] 3-18
[**402**] H. Hugonnard-Roche, 'Les traductions syriaques de l'Isagoge de Porphyre et la constitution du corpus syriaque de logique', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 24 (1994), 293-312
[**403**] H. Hugonnard-Roche, 'Note sur Sergius de Res'aina, traducteur du grec en syriaque et commentateur d'Aristote', in G. Endress, R. Kruk, eds, *The Ancient Tradition in Christian and Islamic Hellenism* (Leiden: CNWS, 1997), 121-43
[**404**] J. Teixidor, *Aristote en syriaque: Paul le Perse, logicien du VI^e^ siècle* (Paris: CNRS, 2003)

As with the Arabic tradition, the following references dealing with the **Latin** commentary tradition focus upon the reception of the ancient commentators rather than with the later Latin commentary tradition itself. Nevertheless it may be of interest at this point to note: [**405**] J. Marenbon, 'Medieval Latin Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts, Before c. 1150 AD', in [76] 77-127 (with a 'Supplement' in [**406**] J. Marenbon, *Aristotelian Logic, Platonism, and the Context of Early Medieval Philosophy in the West* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000)), and [**407**] S. Ebbesen, 'Medieval Latin Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', also in [76] 129-77. See also [**408-413**] the series of articles by C. H. Lohr entitled

'Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries' in *Traditio*, vols 23 (1967); 24 (1968); 26 (1970); 27 (1971); 28 (1972); 29 (1973).

The following entries deal with the reception of the ancient commentators in the Latin West up to and including the Renaissance. The pervasive influence of Boethius on the Latin West naturally means that the literature dealing with his impact is vast and is not adequately covered here. Add to these the items listed in [1] 521-23:

[**414**] M. Asztalos, 'Boethius as a Transmitter of Greek Logic to the Latin West: The *Categories*', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 95 (1993), 367-407

[**415**] B. G. Dod, 'Aristoteles Latinus', in N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny, J. Pinborg, eds, *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982), 45-79; includes details of the translations of Aristotle and his commentators into Latin

[**416**] S. Fazzo, 'Philology and Philosophy in the Margins of Early Printed Editions of the Ancient Greek Commentators on Aristotle', in C. Blackwell, S. Kusukawa, eds, *Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Conversations with Aristotle* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 48-75

[**417**] N. J. Green-Pedersen, *The Tradition of the Topics in the Middle Ages: The Commentaries on Aristotle's and Boethius's Topics* (Munich: Philosophia Verlag, 1984)

[**418**] P. Hadot, 'La survie du Commentaire de Simplicius sur le Manuel d'Épictète du XVe au XVIIe siècles: Perotti, Politien, Steuchus, John Smith, Cudworth', in [265] 326-67

[**419**] J. Kraye, 'Alexander of Aphrodisias, Gianfrancesco Beati and the Problem of *Metaphysics* a', in J. Monfasani, R. Musto, eds, *Renaissance Society and Culture* (New York: Italica Press, 1991), 137-60; repr. in J. Kraye, *Classical Traditions in Renaissance Philosophy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002)

[**420**] L. Labowsky, 'William of Moerbeke's manuscript of Alexander of Aphrodisias (Bessarion Studies III)', *Renaissance and Medieval Studies* 5 (1961) 155-62

[**421**] O. Lewry, 'Boethian Logic in the Medieval West', in [173] 90-134

[**422**] C. H. Lohr, 'Renaissance Latin Translations of the Greek Commentaries on Aristotle', in J. Kraye, M. W. F. Stone, eds, *Humanism and Early Modern Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 2000), 24-40

[**423**] E. P. Mahoney, 'Nicoletto Vernia and Agostino Nifo on Alexander of Aphrodisias: an unnoticed dispute', *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia* 23 (1968) 268-96

[**424**] A. Mansion, 'Le commentaire de S. Thomas sur le De sensu et sensato d'Aristote: utilisation d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise', in *Melanges Mandonnet I* (Paris, 1930), 83-102

[**425**] A. J. Smet, 'Alexander van Aphrodisias en S. Thomas van Aquino. Bijdrage tot de Bronnenstudie van de Commentaar van S. Thomas op de Meteorologica van Aristoteles', *Tijdschrift voor Philosophie* 21 (1959) 108-41

[**426**] R. B. Todd, 'Baltasar Meliavacca, Andronicus Callistus, and the Greek Aristotelian Commentators in Fifteenth-Century Italy', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 37 (1994), 67-75

[**427**] L. G. Westerink, 'Ficino's Marginal Notes On Olympiodorus In Riccardi Greek Ms 37', *Traditio* 24 (1968), 351-78

[**428**] P. Wilpert, 'Die Ausgestaltung der aristotelischen Lehre vom Intellectus agens bei den griechischen Kommentatoren und in der Scholastik des 13. Jahrhunderts', in A. Lang, J. Lechner, M. Schmaus, eds, *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1935), 446-62

VI. In Sum

The references here, along with the bibliographies in [1], [125] (for Alexander), [155] (for Aspasius), [171] (for Boethius), [211] (for Philoponus), [248] (for Porphyry), and [330] (for the Byzantine tradition), should give one a good overview of the nature and range of work that has been done and is now currently being done on the ancient commentators.[*]

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[*] I would like to thank Richard Sorabji and Han Baltussen for helpful comments on an earlier version, Bob Sharples for sharing his Alexander bibliography, and Peter Adamson for his editorial guidance. I would particularly like to thank Silvia Fazzo for some very helpful comments that I received just as this volume was being sent to press. I have not been able to incorporate some of the extra items that she has brought to my attention, but I think they may all be found in her entry on Alexander in *DPhA Suppl*. 61-70.

Appendix: Aldus Manutius and the Aristotelian Commentators

In the Preface to his *Thesaurus Cornucopiae* of 1496 (Ren. 9)[1] the famous Venetian printer Aldus Manutius announced that people would "see shortly all of Aristotle's works which have been extant for a long time, printed on our press".[2] It has been claimed that this was the first announcement of the monumental Aldine edition of Aristotle published in five folio volumes.[3] In fact the first volume had been published nine months earlier, in November 1495, containing Aristotle's logical works (the *Organon*) along with Porphyry's *Introduction* (Ren. 7). But of particular interest in the present context is Aldus' promise in the following line of the same Preface that "the commentaries to his [Aristotle's] books will be set in type too, since I was able to collect almost all of them".[4] And Aldus' interest in the commentators was evident in the very book in which he wrote this, for among other things it itself contained 'ex scriptis Ioannis Grammatici de idiomatibus'.[5]

Before turning to consider Aldus' plans for these commentaries,[6] it might be appropriate to say a little more about the man himself.[7] Aldus Manutius was born around 1451 not far south of Rome. He studied in Rome and later became a tutor himself. In the late 1480s Aldus moved to Venice where he founded the printing firm for which he became world famous. His fame rests on a number of important achievements. He introduced the italic typeface for the first time, combining this with the octavo format to produce a series of compact pocketbooks that could be taken and read almost anywhere, allowing learning to escape from the confines of the medieval library.[8] He published the amazing *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 'The Strife of Love in a Dream', by Francesco Colonna (Ren. 21), often and justly described as the most beautiful illustrated book of the fifteenth century.[9] But his legacy is perhaps greatest as a publisher of Greek texts. From Aldus' press were issued the first printed editions of Herodotus, Thucydides, Aeschylus,

[1] Ren. = A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde*, 3rd edn (Paris 1834), the standard bibliography of the Aldine Press, and reissued in a number of facsimile editions. Also useful for the publications of Aldus himself is L. Bigliazzi *et al.*, *Aldo Manuzio tipografo 1494-1515* (Florence 1994).

[2] This Preface is reproduced and translated in A. Lemke, *Aldus Manutius and his Thesaurus Cornucopiae of 1496* (Syracuse 1958). Both this and the following quotation are from p. 11.

[3] See the Introduction by D. P. Bean in Lemke (above n. 2), p. 5.

[4] Aldus' intentions were also expressed in the Preface to the 1495 Aristotle volume; see M. Davies, *Aldus Manutius: Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice* (Temple 1999), p. 50. See also C. H. Lohr, 'Renaissance Latin Translations of the Greek Commentaries on Aristotle', in, J. Kraye & M. W. F. Stone, eds, *Humanism and early Modern Philosophy* (London 2000), pp. 24-40, at p. 37 n. 6.

[5] See item no. 17 in the bibliography in R. Sorabji, ed., *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science* (London 1987), p. 233. For a modern edition of this text see L. W. Daly, ed., *Iohannis Philoponi De Vocabulis quae Diversum Significatum Exhibent Secundum Differentiam Accentus*, ed. (Philadelphia 1983).

[6] For previous comments on Aldus' publication of the commentators see C. B. Schmitt, 'Alberto Pio and the Aristotelian Studies of his Time', in *Società, Politica e Cultura a Carpi ai Tempi di Alberto III Pio* (Padova 1981), pp. 43-64, esp. 55-58.

[7] For general introductions to Aldus see Davies (n. 4 above), plus A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme a Venise* (Paris 1875); M. Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford 1979). There is also much of interest in N. G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (London 1992), esp. pp. 127-56.

[8] See Davies (n. 4 above), p. 42.

[9] There exists an English translation, faithful to the typography of the original and reproducing its famous woodcut illustrations, by J. Godwin (London 1999). For discussion see H. Barolini, *Aldus and his Dream Book* (New York 1992).

Sophocles, Aristophanes, Plutarch's *Moralia*, Plato, and, perhaps most importantly of all in the present context, the first printed edition of the works of Aristotle.

The Aristotle edition, described as "the greatest publishing venture of the fifteenth century",[10] was issued in 5 folio volumes between 1495 and 1498.[11] Yet it was not strictly speaking an edition of Aristotle, as it lacked the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*, and included a number of works by other authors, principally Theophrastus.[12] However the omission of the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* – due simply to the fact that Aldus had been unable to obtain copies of these works – was made good later when he published their first editions in 1508 (Ren. 54). And the inclusion of material not by Aristotle is especially relevant here because Aldus' printing of Porphyry's *Isagoge* in the first volume of 1495 appears to be the earliest edition of the Greek text of a work by one of Aristotle's commentators, even if it is not strictly speaking a commentary itself (see the cover image on this volume).[13]

Aldus did indeed go on to try to fulfil his earlier promise to set in type the Aristotelian commentaries. During his lifetime he issued three editions. The first of these was of Ammonius' commentary on *De Interpretatione*, supplemented with Leo Magentinos on the same, published in June 1503 (Ren. 40). Although not announced on the titlepage, this edition also included Michael Psellos on *De Interpretatione* and 'Ammonius' on the *Categories* (actually by Philoponus).[14] March of the following year saw the issue of John Philoponus' commentary on the *Posterior Analytics*, supplemented with an anonymous commentary on the same (Ren. 45). Aldus' third issue contained Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary on the *Topics*, edited by Marcus Musurus,[15] and dated September 1513 in the colophon (Ren. 62).[16] The interval of around a decade between the second and third of these volumes suggests that practical problems may have diverted Aldus from his original intentions, not least the Venetian economic crisis brought on by military campaigns against the French.[17] However he did reaffirm in the Preface to his Alexander volume that he planned to continue with his series of texts devoted to the commentators.[18] But it was not to be, and Aldus died in 1515. The only other commentary that he issued was a Latin edition of Averroes' comments on the *Prior Analytics*, published much earlier, in 1497.[19]

[10] Davies (n. 4 above), p. 20.

[11] For discussion see Lowry (n. 7 above), pp. 234-37, who explicitly draws upon the work of Sicherl; see M. Sicherl, 'Handschriftliche Vorlagen der Editio princeps des Aristoteles', repr. in his *Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Manutius* (Paderborn 1997), pp. 31-113.

[12] But also works by Alexander and Galen, as well as Porphyry's *Isagoge*.

[13] Of course, commentaries had already been published in Latin translation, the first being Themistius' paraphrases of the *Posterior Analytics*, *Physics*, and *De Anima*, translated by Ermolao Barbaro, in 1481; see Lohr (n. 4 above), p. 25.

[14] For comments on the former, see K. Ierodiakonou, 'Psellos' Paraphrasis on Aristotle's *De interpretatione*', in K. Ierodiakonou, ed., *Byzantine Philosophy and its Ancient Sources* (Oxford 2002), pp. 157-81, esp. 161-63. For the authorship of the latter see the preface to *CAG* 13.1.

[15] See Lowry (n. 7 above), p. 163. For more on Musurus, Cretan and sometime Professor of Greek at the University of Padua, see D. J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe* (Cambridge, MA 1962), pp. 111-66, esp. p. 154; É. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique, ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grac par des Grecs aux Xve et XVIe siècles*, 2 vols (Paris 1885), vol. 1, pp. cviii-cxxiv. Musurus also translated commentaries by Alexander and Philoponus into Latin; see Schmitt (n. 6 above), pp. 52-53.

[16] The Preface has the date February 1514, and Aldus may have delayed publication for whatever reasons.

[17] See Lowry (n. 7 above), pp. 128-29, 149; Wilson (n. 7 above), p. 145.

[18] See Wilson (n. 7 above), p. 152.

[19] *Quaestio Averrois in Librum Priorum traducta par Heliam Hebraeum* (Venice 1497), Ren. 14.

Aldus' publication of Aristotle, the ancient commentators, and 'the Commentator' Averroes should be placed within the context of the debates concerning Aristotelianism then taking place at the University of Padua,[20] only twenty miles or so from Venice, and an established market for Venetian publishers of academic books.[21] Padua was, of course, a renowned centre of Latin Averroism. Nicoletto Vernia was the Averroistic professor of philosophy there from 1465 to 1499,[22] and was succeeded by Pietro Pomponazzi, who held the chair from 1499 to 1509.[23] Pomponazzi – along with others – had advocated a return to Aristotle free from Averroism, and he drew upon Alexander of Aphrodisias to assist him in his task.[24] It was within this context that in 1497 the Arts Faculty at Padua petitioned the Senate of Venice for a chair devoted to the teaching of Aristotle in Greek. The request was granted, and the position was at one point held by Aldus' friend Musurus.[25] Thus students at Padua could learn to read Aristotle in Greek, going back to the man himself, free from Averroistic interpretations (ironically, Averroes had intended to do the same, namely, return to Aristotle himself, free from Neoplatonic interpretations). Aldus' publishing activities were no doubt connected to these events in Padua in an interactive way, with Aldus supplying texts currently in highest demand in Padua, but also making available key texts that would shape the future development of the controversy.[26] It should be noted that the ancient commentators formed a key influence on the Paduan debates concerning Aristotle at this time.[27]

Despite his great achievements, Aldus was not in fact the first person to publish an Aristotelian commentary in Greek. His editions of Ammonius, Philoponus, and Alexander were predated by an edition of Simplicius' commentary on the *Categories* and Ammonius' commentary on Porphyry, issued in October 1499 and May 1500 respectively, by Zacharias Callierges.[28] Callierges was a Cretan scribe turned printer who may have later worked for Aldus.[29] It is unclear to what extent Callierges was a competitor or a collaborator at this point[30] – he was certainly friends with Musurus,

[20] For discussion of Aristotelianism in Padua see J. H. Randall, 'Paduan Aristotelianism Reconsidered', in E. P. Mahoney, ed., *Philosophy and Humanism* (Leiden 1976), pp. 275-82; C. B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA 1983), pp. 98-103.

[21] See Lowry (n. 7 above), p. 23.

[22] However, Vernia later attacked Averroism, turning instead for inspiration to the ancient commentators; see. B. P. Copenhaver & C. B. Schmitt, *Renaissance Philosophy* (Oxford 1992), pp. 69-70.

[23] For an introduction to Pomponazzi see A. H. Douglas, *The Philosophy and Psychology of Pietro Pomponazzi* (Cambridge 1910); J. H. Randall in E. Cassirer, P. O. Kristeller, & J. H. Randall, eds, *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man* (Chicago 1948), pp. 257-79; Copenhaver & Schmidt (n. 22 above), pp. 103-12.

[24] However, Randall (n. 23 above), p. 270, questions of extent of Alexander's influence on Pomponazzi. See also Douglas (n. 23 above), pp. 62-66.

[25] See n. 15 above.

[26] So, one might ask whether a renewed interest in reading Aristotle in Greek led Aldus to publish his famous edition, or whether the appearance of his edition fuelled interest in reading Aristotle in Greek by making the texts more readily available.

[27] And it was at Padua, around a century later, that Galileo developed his impetus theory, influenced by Philoponus, either directly or via secondary sources. See C. B. Schmitt, 'Philoponus' Commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* in the 16th Century', in Sorabji (n. 5 above), pp. 210-30, esp. pp. 225-26.

[28] For the details of these publications see Legrand (n. 15 above), no. 24 (vol. 1, p. 62) and no. 27 (vol. 1, p. 72) respectively.

[29] For more on Callierges and Vlastos, see R. Proctor, *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford 1900), pp. 117-26; Geanakoplos (n. 15 above), pp. 201-22; Firmin-Didot (n. 7 above), pp. 544-78; Legrand (n. 15 above), vol. 1, pp. cxxv-cxxx.

[30] See Lowry (n. 7 above), p. 126; Geanakoplos (n. 15 above), p. 207.

Aldus' Greek editor[31] (but may also have seen him as a serious rival)[32] – but it is interesting to note that both of these commentary publications were included by Aldus in his own catalogues of 1503 and 1513 (Ren. 334, 338). This might suggest that Aldus welcomed these publications as a contribution to his own project of making available all of the Aristotelian commentaries. However, Proctor reports that Nicolaus Vlastos – Callierges' business partner and financial backer – applied for a privilege in November 1498 for the exclusive right to publish the Aristotelian commentaries for the next twenty years;[33] presumably in an attempt to undermine Aldus' project of printing the commentators that, as we have seen, he had already announced in his prefaces of 1495 and 1496. But Aldus soon gained the upper hand when, after printing only the two volumes, Callierges and Vlastos went bankrupt.[34] Aldus bought up their unsold stock when the business went into liquidation, adding it to his own list of titles for sale.[35] The Venetian economic crisis of the first decade of the sixteenth century that held up Aldus' plans finished off many of his competitors.

Fortunately Aldus' plans to publish the commentators did not die with him and his successors issued a number of editions, presumably at least some of which would have been based on the manuscripts that Aldus' had announced that he had been collecting for the task. In total, Aldus and his successors issued 17 volumes of Greek commentaries on Aristotle, containing 23 commentaries (depending upon how one counts) plus a number of related works, the vast majority of which were the first printed editions. The details for these publications are listed below, in chronological order.

Editions Published by Aldus himself before 1515

1. Ammonii Hermei commentaria in librum Peri Hermenias. Margentini Metropolitae Mitylenensis in eundem enarratio. [Also: Michaelis Pselli paraphrasis in librum Peri Hermenias. Ammonius Hermeus in decem Categorias.] 1503 (Ren. 40)
2. Ioannis Grammatici in Posteriora Resolutoria Aristotelis commentaria. 1504 (Ren. 45)
3. Alexandri Aphrodisiei in Topica Aristotelis, commentarii. 1513 (Ren. 62)

Editions published by Aldus' successors after 1515

4. Alexandri Aphrodisiensis, in Priora Analytica Aristotelis, commentaria. 1520 (Ren. 89)
5. Alexandri Aphrodisiensis, in Sophisticos Aristotelis Elenchos, commentaria. 1520 (Ren. 89)
6. Simplicii commentarii in octo Aristotelis Physicae auscultationis libros cum ipso Aristotelis textu. 1526 (Ren. 102)
7. Simplicii commentarii in quatuor Aristotelis libros De Coelo, cum textu eiusdem. 1526 (Ren. 102)
8. Simplicii commentaria in tres libros Aristotelis De Anima. Alexandri Aphrodisiei commentaria in librum De Sensu, & Sensibili. Michaelis Ephesii annotations in

[31] See Geanokoplos (n. 15 above), p. 211; Proctor (n. 29 above), p. 8.

[32] See Proctor (n. 29 above), p. 117.

[33] See Proctor (n. 29 above), p. 120.

[34] See Lowry (n. 7 above), pp. 127-29. However Callierges did start printing again, much later; see Geanakoplos (n. 15 above), pp. 211-12.

[35] See Proctor (n. 29 above), p. 117.

librum De Memoria, & Reminiscentia. De Somno, & Vigilia. De Somniis. De Divinatione per Somnium. De Motu Animalium. De Longitudine, & Brevitate Vitae. De Iuventute, & Senectute, & Vita, ac Morte. De Respiratione. De Gressu Animalium. 1527 (Ren. 104)

9. Ioannes Grammaticus in libros De Generatione, & Interitu. Alexander Aphrodisiensis in Meteorologica. Idem De Mixtione. 1527 (Ren. 104)
10. Omnia Themistii Opera, hoc est Paraphrases, et Orationes, Alexandri Aphrodisiensis libri duo De Anima, et De Fato unus. 1534 (Ren. 111)
11. Ioannes Grammatici in Posteriora Resolutoria Aristotelis, commentarium. Incerti authoris in eadem. Eustratii in eadem. 1534 (Ren. 113)[36]
12. Ioannes Philoponi Grammatici commentaria in primos quatuor Aristotelis libros De Naturali auscultatione. 1535 (Ren. 114)[37]
13. Eustratii et aliorum insignium peripateticorum commentaria in libros decem Aristotelis De Moribus ad Nicomachum, una cum textu suis in locis adiecto. 1536 (Ren. 116)
14. Ammonii Hermiae in Quinque Voces Porphyrii commentarius, correctionibus quamplurimis, & locorum imaginibus illustratus. 1546 (Ren. 135)[38]
15. Ammonii Hermiae in Praedicamenta Aristotelis commentarius. Aristotelis vita. 1546 (Ren. 135)[39]
16. Ammonii Hermiae in Aristotelis De Interpretatione librum commentarius. 1546 (Ren. 135)[40]
17. Olympiodori Philosophi Alexandrini in Meteora Aristotelis commentarii. Ioannis Grammatici Philoponi scholia in primum Meteorum Aristotelis. 1551 (Ren. 151)

This, then, is the contribution of Aldus and his heirs to the dissemination of the Aristotelian commentators. Beyond the two earlier publications by Callierges, Renouard notes just two other publications of ancient commentaries at this time.[41] Thus the Aldine Press was responsible for issuing the first editions of the contents of well over half of the *CAG*,[42] not to mention a number of shorter pieces by Alexander that appear in the *CAG* Suppl. and a number of Byzantine commentaries not in *CAG* at all.[43] Aldus and his heirs also published in anthologies a number of other minor pieces by Alexander (Ren. 11, 45, 65), Ammonius (Ren. 13, 99), Philoponus (Ren. 9, 58, 99), Porphyry (Ren. 13, 77, 91), and Priscian (Ren. 13, 77, 97, 103).

Of course none of these editions stand up to the scrutiny to which one might subject a modern critical edition. As one authority has put it (with regard to the edition of

[36] A reissue of the 1504 edition, but supplemented with the commentary by Eustratius.

[37] This volume may not have been by Aldus, but by Zanetti, but it is listed in Renouard's catalogue.

[38] Previously issued by Callierges in 1500.

[39] Previously printed in Aldus' 1503 edition.

[40] Also previously printed in Aldus' 1503 edition.

[41] These are Philoponus *in De Anima* (1535) and Philoponus *in Priora Analytica* (1536), but note also Philoponus *Contra Proclum* (1535) and Alexander *Quaestiones* (1536); see Ren. 114-115. A further possibility is noted at Ren. 102.

[42] The seventeen volumes listed above contain the contents of *CAG* vols 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17, and 20, plus parts 4.5, 12.2, 13.1, 13.3, 14.1, 14.2, 21.1, 22.2, and the bulk of *CAG* suppl. vol. 2. Lohr (n. 4 above) provides at pp. 28-29 a useful table of the Aldine editions, *CAG* volumes, and the published Latin translations.

[43] Note for example the Latin edition of *Pselli Philosophi sapientissimi in Physicen Aristotelis Commentarii* (1554); Ren. 159. For comment see L. G. Benakis, 'Commentaries and Commentators on the Works of Aristotle (except the Logical ones) in Byzantium', in B. Mojsisch, O. Pluta, eds, *Historia Philosophiae Medii Aevi: Studien zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters I* (Amsterdam 1991), pp. 45-54, esp. pp. 46-47.

Aristotle), 'Aldine editorship was more like an academic wheel of fortune than a controlled system of scholarly criticism'.[44] However, it would be unfair to judge Aldus' efforts by the standards of modern scholarship, as this would devalue his incredible achievement of publishing such a large corpus of works for the very first time. This achievement places all those who are interested in Aristotle and the Aristotelian commentary tradition permanently in his debt.

[44] Lowry (n. 7 above), p. 237. For critical comments on an Aldine edition from the perspective of modern scholarship see Ierodiakonou (n. 14 above), pp. 161-63.